1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

833 begun. Most girls begin when they are fifteen or younger, and boys when they approach
seventeen. Situations prohibiting intercourse are not consistently recognized. A number of
834 youths say that they would not have intercourse with a girl who is menstruating; they will,
● 839 however, permit a girl in this condition to masturbate them. Other boys deny such
inhibitions or else utilize a condom with a menstruant. Men are generally reluctant to have
842 intercourse with a girl who is feared to be venereally diseased, but will do so if condoms are
available. "French safes," as condoms are locally designated, were largely secured from
soldiers and construction workers during Highway construction but are now sold by one
of the independent traders who secures them through truck drivers hauling from Dawson
Creek. Coitus is not avoided before a hunting trip; in fact a man who expects to be away
hunting for some time may make a point of securing intercourse before leaving.

853 When intoxicated, most of the younger men are keenly interested in describing their sexual prowess. They recount such feats as attaining several orgasms or copulating with three and four different girls in a single night. Sexual capacity is also spoken of as the ability to "wear out" a girl. One story is told of three boys who exhausted a girl by having intercourse with her twice each. Boys will reveal the names of their sexual partners only to close friends, and even this is rare unless a youth is intoxicated. From observation it is apparent that much of this conversation tends to exaggerate the frequency of coitus. It is probable that in summer an unmarried man has intercourse about once in seven or ten days. Since there are fewer unmarried girls available for this purpose, the frequency of coitus is considerably greater for this sex, averaging perhaps three or four times a week in summer for
[831] promiscuous young women. Along with the high value invested in sexual capacity, goes a
concern for the size of the penis, a large organ being regarded as desirable and commendable.

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787 That the male's interest in sexual capacity and genital size may point to a fear of impotence is indicated by material collected from and about one thirty-two year old man. He was reported to suffer from acute impotence on two occasions. In an interview with the ethnographer, he once denied that virility declines with age, affirming that some old men are "stronger for girls" than young men. In a dream reported before specific reports of his incapacity had been obtained, he told of being in the company of his brother when he was attacked by a grizzly bear. "My gun stick. I get nervous. I try to take shot at him. My gun got no power. Goes ssss—goes out quick . . . I take all shells and put new shells in. He run around. He don't bite me. I get mad at grizzly bear. I holler at him: 'You better get away or I hit you with that gun.'" The informant tended to deny the interpretation equating the gun with the penis and the dream's situation with sexual incapacity. The rejection was inconclusive, however, the man saying that to kill a dangerous animal in a dream was a promise of effectively combating illness. "You kill him, that's lucky. You're safe . . . you're not going to die. Gun is great thing when you're dreaming."

833 Acute impotence under the influence of alcohol was denied by several informants, who reported an aphrodisiacal effect from liquor and brew.

836 Ideally, premarital sexual intercourse is disapproved of, particularly for girls. Parents, when they venture to speak of the matter, warn girls to avoid sexual relations before marriage, citing the dangers of illegitimacy and venereal infection. Such behavior may also be criticized, scolded, or otherwise punished. One girl, thirteen, who was showing a tendency

837 cases the wife is informed of the husband's decision. According to Nitla: "She can't say no. I'm her boss." He added: "No matter if friends, and you give her kids. So long you not sick." However questionable such ideal control of the husband may be, the fact is that a wife will often be *fully* willing to act as a partner in such an arrangement, because she herself desires the husband's friend and finds any other means of gratifying her desire difficult. She may even add her insistence for such an exchange to her husband's, in the event that the other partner remains aloof from the proposal. A rare variant of this pattern is for an unmarried man to supply *his* married friend with an unmarried girl in exchange for sexual access to the latter's wife. Frequently extramarital sexual exchanges are arranged under condition of intoxication. Wife lending also occurs to oblige a man who is away from his wife.

548 Evidence of the direct sale of sexual favors was noted in only one young woman during the period when American troops and construction workers were crowding Lower Post. Although other promiscuous girls undoubtedly received money and gifts of cigarettes, candy, and lighters from soldiers, the motive behind their behavior does not appear to have been primarily pecuniary. Most girls were willing to exchange sexual access for truck rides and the stimulation of erotic situations. Local white trappers also make efforts to secure Indian girls as temporary sexual partners and in return generally give them money. Since no girl relies to any extent on such financial remuneration, a pattern of prostitution may be questioned and other motives inferred. Such motives include a desire for sexual interaction and a reluctance to offend persistent white men.

835 Incest is regarded with abhorrence and there is a tendency to classify as incestuous any sexual relationship between relatives (other than the paternal male and maternal female cross-cousins) closer than third cousins and between members of the same moiety. Not only would discovery of an incestuous relationship arouse strong public opinion, but such behavior is thought to lead to insanity in the guilty couple and deformity in the offspring.

● 839 [858] The only forms of atypical sexual relations known to occur in Kaska society are rape and manifest homosexuality. Since premarital sexual intercourse is often carried out in a manner suggesting rape, particular attention was paid to the definition of this form of behavior. Informants agreed that pursuing a girl in order to win sexual access to her is not necessarily rape. They pointed out that rape can occur only when a girl unmistakably resents a man's attention and fights him for her freedom. One is still left unclear as to how much struggle is required to demarcate the typical from the atypical. Field notes contain several incidents in which from two to six youths were observed dragging girls into bushes or vacant houses. On one occasion June Barry, the youngest promiscuous girl in the community, requested the company of the ethnographer's wife en route to a dance. She was asked if she ran from boys in order to tease them or because she was afraid, and replied that she ran because she was frightened. Yet the ethnographer's wife once interrupted a situation in which three older youths were struggling with June. The boys ran off but the girl, instead of retaining her safety, quickly went into the night alone. Obviously the ambivalence which girls seem to manifest in sexual situations makes it difficult to recognize rape. The fact that girls traveling at night are often accompanied by partners helps somewhat in making a distinction. When such girls accede to sexual demands expressed through teasing and pursuit, they separate willingly. Any reluctance to separate or any assistance furnished by a girl's partner indicates unwillingness or at least unreadiness for intercourse. 839

Homosexuality can be divided into two types, overt homosexuality and behavior which seems indicative of repressed or inhibited homosexual tendencies. The former behavior, although socially condemned, nevertheless occurs secretly, generally in the form of mutual masturbation. Informants reported overt homosexuality to occur in both sexes following puberty and to be largely a consequence of sexual frustration. "No girl, can't catch," Nitla explained, "he stuck for girl, some men do that. Girl, can't catch a man, do that, bother girl." Apart from social disapproval if discovered, the behavior is not associated with any specific sanctions. 838

Overt homosexual tendencies are often publicly demonstrated between intoxicated men. Several such instances were observed. When Richard Day, Edward Prince, and the latter's wife were drinking in the ethnographer's tent, Richard, after gesturing toward Edward's penis, began to simulate masturbation of the latter. This was really frottage, as Edward was fully clothed and the hand did not rest directly on the genitals but in their vicinity. On another occasion Old Man was drinking and, turning to Richard Day, spoke of how he had teased and wrestled with the latter when Richard was a small boy. He began to speak of men "fooling" with boys the way they "fool" with women. He gestured playfully toward Richard's genitals and referred to the youth's "little worm." At a later party Old Man told his son-in-law, Harry Lang, to give Donald Sam a cup of brew. Harry put his arms around the boy and drew the latter to his knee. He called Donald, "My little sweetheart." Donald bore this patiently but Old Man cried: "Shame, mustn't do that."

Behavior suggesting hidden homosexual impulses is revealed by unmarried adolescents of both sexes. It is chiefly manifested in embracing, wrestling, and by a youth playfully coming up behind another young man and pressing his body close to the latter. Sometimes a swift coital-like rhythm is manifested in these embraces. On one occasion Flower Joe was observed playfully simulating the strumming of a guitar on her cousin's, Irene Wiley's, breast. Irene showed no reaction.

No particular value is associated with male continence. Carefully regulated sexual behavior (that is, the avoidance of excess) may aid a man to live long and bring "good luck," but some sexual experience is nevertheless regarded as desirable. Continence may actually be as dangerous as excessive sexuality if it leads to "worry about girl." In such cases a man may "Lose his brains, go crazy." Therefore the advice is: "Better get married." 831 [777]

The idea of a woman remaining a lifelong virgin was regarded as amusing. The informant rejected this notion as an impossibility and stated that if a woman of thirty, who had never been sexually initiated, were to see a man, "She grab him. She sleep right there. More worse than dog." However the informant thought it very unlikely that young men would ever permit a woman to get that *far* into life without some sexual experience.

RECREATION

No one who has learned to know the Kaska people can doubt their great love for recreation or "fun." Necessarily reduced to a minimum during the family's isolation in winter, recreational patterns flourish during the summer in Lower Post. The formal amusements 52 517

[883] [572] by performing them. Around puberty the boy's education begins as an independent trapper and hunter. Unlike the earlier trips with his father, this is more serious work. If he is acting as the protégé of an older man, his winters are occupied in hauling and cutting large supplies of winter wood, hunting rabbits and chickens for daily food, and guiding the toboggan. If the youngster shows himself willing and eager to do and learn, the relationship between the partners is warm and comfortable. If, however, the youth shows a tendency to lie in bed on cold mornings and is slow in executing his expected tasks, his life is plagued and made miserable. Father, uncle, and brothers lecture to him about his laziness and may even plan practical jokes on him. Thus late one morning, while Donald Suza was sitting up in his sleeping place sipping coffee and eating a late breakfast, Old Mike placed a thin stick behind the youth's back. When Donald lay down again after his repast the stick snapped, but not before it had sharply jabbed into his back. If the boy is afraid of the bush (in other words, if he has not unlearned the socially patterned attitudes of childhood), he is "talked to" and ragged. From the life history material collected, it is apparent that adolescents often have to "unlearn" fear of the forest when they begin to travel alone, but this seems to have been successfully accomplished in most men and even in many women.

For their activities adolescents receive more praise than they have hitherto been accustomed to. A girl's sewing is pointed to with pride by a mother or father. A girl who can shoot rabbits, chickens, and porcupine is favored and may be called "my little boy." A boy who begins to hunt is praised less lavishly for small game (although his bag is always welcomed), but his first moose or caribou marks an occasion of considerable excitement. By his ability, diligence, and persistence as a hunter and trapper a youth creates his reputation in the community just as a girl develops her prestige through domestic skills. These attributes prepare the adolescent's way to marriage.

Considered from an overall point of view, adolescent activities range from work to play. They include hunting and fishing trips, bicycle riding, dressmaking, swimming, and horseback riding. At this age the boy's teasing of girls assumes a sexual quality. The adolescent, as has already been described, often shows a considerable fondness for younger children but also spend long periods in association with adults. Musical instruments have [534] been toyed with since a child was nine or ten; adolescence, however, is the time when serious efforts are made to master the violin and guitar. Here, too, boys and girls make their [273] first shy appearances on the dance floor. They also begin to drink. At first this drinking is covert, representing the acceptance of adults' hospitality, but by sixteen or seventeen, most youth demonstrate a keen appreciation of alcoholic release. Masturbation, although regarded [839] as highly shameful, is reported to be quite common for both sexes between thirteen and sixteen years of age but disappears once sexual intercourse is initiated. In summer, with the season's opportunities for social interaction, adolescence becomes a time of carefree fun and playing. Responsibilities and duties are largely forgotten as the bush is forsaken, life revolves around dancing, music, gambling, drinking, and sexual relations.

[883] [572] An important behavior which makes its appearance in the later years of childhood and continues through adolescence to marriage is the formation of intrasexual friendships. Just as one seldom sees an unmarried boy and girl walking or talking together, so rarely is an adolescent seen abroad without a friend or companion of the same sex. Boys, having greater

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